1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

nations are formed which assume a public function. A band of musicians of San Andres are frequently called upon to play at funerals or weddings. During 1927 "the new orchestra" was organized at Tepoztlán. This was composed of young men, mostly *cristeros*, who played "modern" pieces, on Sundays or holidays, to entertain the townspeople. The "old orchestra" is a musical organization of quite another sort. This is composed of four older men who know the traditional music used for the *posadas* and for certain of the religious dances. They play chiefly ritual music, not current compositions. Funeral music is of an intermediate type; the "old orchestra" plays at funerals too. The *chirimiteros* are not regarded as musicians; they will be referred to later.

With the musicians this list grades off into specialties that are so casual, so little differentiated, so easily taken on and put off, that it is difficult to name the specialists. Such are the *arrieros*, the men who own mules or horses and haul goods from the railway to the town, chiefly for the merchants; the charcoal-burners and woodcutters; the men who keep and milk cows and the women who sell the milk; and the women who sell *camotes*. Anyone may engage in these occupations occasionally; a few devote themselves to one or another.

There are likewise a considerable number of persons who stand ready to supply some special need, although the fulfilling of this function plays a very minor rôle in their lives. One woman keeps *metates*, bought in some city and held for resale; several keep a stock of herbs; one of the shoemakers keeps a few commercial drugs. A casual acquaintance of the town gives an impression of very little differentiation, but closer familiarity shows that in any need, even an un-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Fig. 9. Terrace street, Aztec style.

Though the village contains 662 house sites, it does not have the compact or crowded appearance of some Mexican towns. For the most part, the houses are separated from each other by gardens, patios, corrals, and sometimes milpas. These are enclosed by low-lying stone walls which do not block the view from the street and which permit overhanging trees to shade the street. Only a few houses in the center are built contiguously in Spanish style and are enclosed by high, concealing walls.

Tepoztlán has the traditional square plaza around which are grouped the more important public buildings. On one side of the plaza is the small public park, complete with bandstand, shade trees, benches, and brick walks. The paved road, which runs along the other side of the park, ends at this point, and here, too, is the last stop on the bus line.

North of the park is the courthouse which houses the office of the president, secretary, and other local officials. A guard in soldier's uniform is frequently seen pacing up and down before the steps. The new school house was built next to the courthouse and is now one of the important edifices of the center. Between these two buildings and the plaza itself is the Portales, a semi-enclosed street where most of the stores and permanent vending places are located. The street has a roof supported by columns and provides merchants and buyers protection from the sun and rain.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Among the younger generation today we noted a distinctly negative attitude toward Náhuatl. People under thirty-five tend to be ashamed to speak Náhuatl in the presence of outsiders and will frequently deny knowledge of the language, although the majority are able to understand it and speak it to some degree. Within most homes, parents and members of the older generation customarily speak in Spanish but resort to Náhuatl to tell secrets, jokes, and especially during quarrels when they wish to be more expressive. Thus, many children have come to associate speaking Náhuatl at home with quarreling, insulting, and scolding. Náhuatl is also preferred at the barrio meetings for the election of the *mayordomo* and during the ceremonial address on the festive celebration in honor of El Tepozteco. It is also spoken by the *huehuechiques* (ceremonial figures) at other fiestas.

The rapid decrease in the use of Náhuatl has occurred in the face of the persistent efforts of some Tepoztecans to preserve the native language. One of the primary objectives of the Colonia Tepozteco, founded in 1920 in Mexico City by Tepoztecans who had been forced to seek refuge there during the years of the Revolution, was "to bring about the preservation of our native tongue for transmission to future generations." Even before the Revolution a group of Tepoztecan intellectuals had published a paper in Náhuatl. There still exists a pro-Náhuatl society in Mexico City composed primarily of middle-class Tepoztecans who periodically visit the village and proclaim the importance of using the native tongue. When the bus companies were founded in Tepoztlán in the middle thirties, they were given Náhuatl names, one bus cooperative being called Ometochtli and the other El Tepozteco. Similarly, in sports events like track the runners will sometimes take Náhuatl names.

The greater use of Spanish in the village has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in literacy. The decline in illiteracy in the municipio during the ten-year period from 1930 to 1940 has been from 66 to 55 per cent. We have no data for illiteracy for the village of Tepoztlán for 1930. However, in 1940 it was down to 42 per cent, which is considerably lower than for the municipio as a whole. By and large there is a high correlation between membership in the middle economic group and literacy. Many in the upper economic group are illiterate.[88]

There has been a considerable increase in the reading of newspapers in recent years. In Redfield's time no newspapers came regularly to the village, and only a few individuals occasionally read newspapers. In 1944 there were fifty-six people who bought newspapers on an average of twice a week. Forty read *El Universal*, *Novedades*, and *Excelsior*, the conservative Mexican papers; one read *El Popular*, the left wing labor paper; and fifteen read the pro-Sinarquista sheets, *El Sinarquista*, *Hombre Libre*, *Omega*, and *La Pluma*, a local weekly published in Cuernavaca. These individuals played an important role in determining public opinion in the village on local, national, and international issues. It was my impression in 1944 that most of the more vocal villagers were sympathetic to the Axis powers.

[88] See Chapter 9, "Wealth Differences and Levels of Living," p. 173.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Tepoztlán has relatively good means of communication. It has a railroad, a modern highway, bus service, mail service, and one telephone. As we have seen earlier, the railroad was built about 1900. The building of the railroad was particularly significant, for it encouraged the commercial exploitation of certain natural resources on a scale formerly impossible. The railroad is used primarily for the transportation of wood and charcoal to Mexico City.

In 1936 the asphalt road connecting Tepoztlán with the Mexico City–Cuernavaca Highway was completed, and shortly thereafter a bus cooperative was organized.[40] The line was successful and expanded. At present there are two bus lines to Cuernavaca, both owned and operated by Tepoztecans and in bitter competition with each other. In 1944 each line operated four buses which ran every hour from seven in the morning to seven at night, seven days a week. The round-trip fare to Cuernavaca was 90 centavos. Both lines carried more than 1,600 Tepoztecan passengers to Cuernavaca and back each week. Four days a week there was an average of 175 passengers. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, the market days in Cuernavaca, there was an average of 300 a day, and 300 to 400 on Sundays.

Before the construction of the road, communication between Tepoztlán and surrounding regions was primarily by burro and by foot. The most frequent trading and social contacts were with Yautepec, about three hours' distance, and with Cuernavaca, about four hours' distance. Since the road has been built it takes about forty-five minutes to Cuernavaca by bus and about twenty minutes by private car. Since the coming of the road, Cuernavaca has replaced Yautepec in importance. This shift is significant because the greater cultural sophistication of Cuernavaca has accelerated the rate of change in Tepoztlán. The road has had many other far-reaching effects which will be discussed later.

Tepoztlán has had mail service since 1926, and mail is delivered daily. Redfield reported in 1926 that there was an average of about twelve letters a day, most of which were for families living in the center. In 1944 there were about thirty letters daily. This increase was relatively small considering the great increase in literacy, trade, and population.

Tepoztlán has had a telephone and telegraph since before the Revolution, but the lines have rarely functioned. In the early thirties the telephone was repaired, but there is little occasion for its use, except for official business. The bus lines have changed this situation somewhat, for the bus line officials have more frequent occasion to communicate with Cuernavaca.

[40] The first bus line was established by a man from Cuernavaca but it was soon taken over by Tepoztecans.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The *curanderos*, on the other hand, are prejudicial to the health of the people and are a definite impediment to the realization of national health programs. In view of our brief example, no blanket statements can be made; each institution must be examined in the light of its social function in the community.

The new occupations in Tepoztlán consist of the millers, chauffeurs, bus line

Fig. 19. A corn mill.

employees, tile and brickmakers, and druggists.[9] In all there are 41 individuals who work in these occupations. All the men who work for the bus cooperatives are members or sons of members of the cooperatives. Such membership is a prerequisite for employment. Tile and brickmaking are technically not new occupations, since these trades were practiced on a small scale prior to the Revolution. During the years of the Revolution and the hard times which immediately followed, the trade lapsed. In 1934 it was revived and now is growing steadily. The tile and brick makers produce only for the needs of the village.

[9] The ropemakers and charcoal makers listed in Table 19 are occupations of long standing and were mentioned by Redfield, although an accurate comparison of the expansion in these occupations cannot be given here because Redfield did not state the number in 1926.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

erally speaking, the tools and techniques used in *tlacolol* are still known by their Náhuatl names, whereas in plow culture Spanish names prevail. Still another difference results from the location of the lands involved. (See Fig. 22.) With few exceptions the privately owned land used for plow culture is much closer to the village than the *tlacolol* land. *Tlacololeros* generally rise at 4:00 A.M., travel about two to three hours to reach their fields, and return home a few hours later than plow culture farmers. The building of the road directly through the privately owned lands has made this contrast sharper. It is not uncommon for some Tepoztecan farmers to take the bus to their milpa. *Tlacololeros,* however, always walk or go by burro. (See Fig. 23.)

PLOW CULTURE

The basic tools of production in plow culture are the ax, plow, machete, and iron hoe. Two types of plows are used: the *arado criollo* (wooden plow) and the *arado polco* (steel plow). The wooden plow (Fig. 24) was introduced by the Spaniards shortly after the Conquest; the first steel plow (Fig. 25) came into the village toward the latter part of the nineteenth century after the railroad had been built through the upper portion of the municipio. Before the Revolution of 1910-20 the steel plow was used only by a few families, and, as late as 1926-27, Redfield reported only a few steel plows.[4] However, by the early thirties plows became more widely used, and in 1943 most farmers used steel plows in addition to wooden plows, each being used for different operations. In 1943, approximately 213 families owned their plows. This number represented only 48 per cent of the families in the village who owned land. In other words, 52 per cent of the landowners lacked one of the basic tools for plow culture.

The wooden plows are made locally by several men who specialize in this work, and the cost of the wooden plow is comparatively inexpensive. However, the prices of both the steel and wooden plow have increased in recent years, so that now considerable capital is needed to purchase a steel plow. (See Table 27.)

TABLE 27. COST OF PLOWS, IN PESOS.

Year	Wooden Plow	Steel Plow
1926	3.00	—
1935	5.50	14.00
1940	7.50	18.00
1942	—	30.00
1944	12.00	40.00

The precise date of the introduction of oxen to Tepoztlán is not known, but they have been used in the village since long before the Revolution. (See Fig. 26.) Most

[4] "The ground is prepared with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very strong earth there are a few steel plowshares." Redfield, *Tepoztlán,* p. 122.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

occupation. The informant worked for ten days: three days in felling trees and cutting up the wood, one day in collecting the wood at one spot, one day in making the kiln, four days and nights in watching the kiln, and one day in taking off the dirt and putting the charcoal into sacks. The yield was 18 sacks or 9 *cargas* of charcoal. Each *carga* sold at 13 pesos, yielding 117 pesos. From this sum the informant had to pay 2 pesos a *carga* for transportation to Cuernavaca and 1½ pesos a *carga* for tax, totaling 31½ pesos, leaving him 85½ pesos for ten days' work. Since daily wages in agriculture at the time were about 4½ pesos, the income from charcoal is considered good in Tepoztlán. But charcoal burning is thought of as dirty work, and it ranks very low in prestige, being identified as a last occupational resort of the poor. Nevertheless, some well-to-do families in the outlying barrios spend part of their time in burning charcoal.

Until 1947, most of the charcoal in Tepoztlán was transported by burro to Yautepec. Since that time the bus line has agreed to transport charcoal, so that much of it now goes to Cuernavaca. The price of transport in 1948 was 2 pesos a *carga*. Occasionally a truck from Mexico City or Cuernavaca comes into Tepoztlán to transport charcoal.

CIRUELAS—HOG PLUMS

The *ciruela* is now an important cash crop in Tepoztlán, and according to informants it was introduced into Tepoztlán in 1865. There was little interest until it was discovered that the *ciruela* was pleasant to eat, and more trees were planted.

The *ciruela* can be easily propagated by cuttings. All that is necessary is to prepare a hole some 30 x 30 cms. wide and about 70 cms. deep and to place in it a branch from the mother tree—a branch 2 to 3 meters long and 5 to 10 cms. in diameter. The hole is then filled with soil and tightly packed. Cuttings may be made at any time of the year with good results. The only precaution necessary is to see that the cuttings are not disturbed while they are rooting, lest the young roots be broken. The trees begin producing in from 3 to 4 years, and production increases as the trees grow. Trees grow to a huge size. (See Fig. 32.)

Ciruelas first became a cash crop in Tepoztlán about 1901, or shortly after the railroad was built through the municipio. But transporting the *ciruelas*, by mule to the railroad and then by rail to Mexico City, incurred great expense and delay. Irregular train schedules often caused the fruit to spoil. After the highway was built, merchants from Mexico City and Cuernavaca sent their trucks to Tepoztlán during harvest, and the cash crop value of the *ciruelas*, transported in this way, increased. They are packed in wooden boxes known as *guacales*. Each *guacal* contains about nine gross of *ciruelas*. The price of a *guacal* in October, 1943, was six pesos. It is estimated that Tepoztlán exports about 7,000 *guacales* a year, a total crop value of about 42,000 pesos.

Prices are fixed by merchants from Cuernavaca and Mexico City. The merchants get together and decide among themselves what they will pay per gross for the fruit. Mexico City is the principal market.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

cause these innovations occurred within such a short period, their effects were mutually reenforcing and the tempo of change was accelerated. The road broke down the barriers of isolation and gave Tepoztlán easy access to new markets; the granting of *ejidos* supplied a somewhat broader land base, thereby increasing production; the corn mills improved the lot of the women and gave them free time which they could devote to commerce and other gainful occupations. The villagers obtained a new source of income from the sale of their *ciruelas* and other fruits which gained commercial value after the means of communication were improved. The road was also responsible for the tourist trade, more frequent social contacts with Cuernavaca, and indirectly the changes in clothing styles. The bus lines have affected village life in more ways than simply that of improving means of communication. They have become a new economic and political force in the village and a new source of conflict. Each line has built up a following of members who have a direct economic interest in their cooperative. The relatives and *compadres* of these members are also involved in the conflict, and the village is again divided into factions. Furthermore, the directors of the cooperatives are beginning to take political control out of the hands of the peasants. The employees of the bus cooperatives now constitute the first important group of non-farmers in Tepoztlán.

The school has been an extremely important agent of cultural change in the village in the past twenty years. As we have seen, enrollment soared from less than 100 in 1926 to over 700 in 1948. The school has increased literacy; has taught the children new standards of personal hygiene and cleanliness; has familiarized them with toilets, running water, and showers; has introduced new games and a spirit of group play lacking before. The school has become the symbol of the new in Tepoztlán; it has made for a greater identification with the nation. The school also has been a great socializing factor. It is breaking down barrio localism and is making for friendships between individuals in different parts of the village. The school has offered new outlets for emotional expression.

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

In the preceding pages we have focused primarily upon the changes which have occurred in each of the major periods considered. But there have also been stable elements which have persisted almost intact, not only during the past twenty years, but since the beginning of the colonial period. This is all the more striking because of the proximity of the village to Mexico City and Cuernavaca. Perhaps the greatest stability has been in agriculture. The tools and techniques have remained essentially the same. Corn and beans are still the major crops. The agricultural economy is still primarily a subsistence economy. Tepoztlán has managed to hold its communal lands throughout this period, primarily because these lands are poor and undesirable to the near-by haciendas. This has been a primary factor in stabilizing Tepoztecan economy, although on a subsistence level with a low standard of living.

The persistence of Náhuatl is also noteworthy and was probably related to the class character of the society. It was primarily *caciques*, merchants, and artisans,

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

including those in Tepoztlán, continue to work their tiny subsistence holdings with traditional backward methods. And the contrast between the old and the new agriculture in Mexico is becoming sharper: less than 1 percent of the cultivated land is worked with the aid of the country's 55,000 tractors; about 20 percent of the land is still worked by the pre-Hispanic method of cutting and burning without benefit of plow and oxen. The production of Mexico's two basic food crops, corn and beans, has managed to keep up with the rapid population growth in the past twenty years but the margin of security has been slight. In drought years Mexico has been forced to spend its precious dollars to import huge quantities of corn to feed its people.

That the Mexican economy cannot give jobs to all of its people is indicated in the fact that from 1942 to 1955 about a million and a half Mexicans came to the United States as *braceros* or temporary agricultural laborers, and this figure does not include the "wet backs" and other illegal immigration. Mexico has also become increasingly dependent on the United States tourist trade for stabilizing its economy. In 1957, over 700,000 tourists from the United States spent almost 600 million dollars in Mexico, making tourism the single largest industry in the country. The income from the tourist trade is about equal to the total Mexican federal budget.

One aspect of the standard of living which has improved very little since 1940 is housing. With a rapidly rising population and with urbanization, crowding and slum conditions in the larger cities and towns are actually getting worse. Of the 5.2 million dwellings reported in the Mexican census of 1950, 60 percent had only one room and 25 percent two rooms; 70 percent of all houses were made of adobe, wood, poles and rods, or rubble, and only 18 percent of brick and masonry. Only 17 percent had private, piped water.

The Village

How has Tepoztlán changed in the light of these national trends? In 1956 the village did not look much different from the way it looked in 1943. The plaza and market still seemed rather desolate and unprosperous; no additional buildings had been built in the center. There were no new streets or paved roads except for two long cement treads which led up a steep street to the *Posada del Tepozteco*, the new tourist resort run by an American family. More automobile and bus traffic entered the village, and trucks came in with such new items as purified water and tanks of cooking gas for the homes of the foreign colony.

Village men still carried water to their homes from the nearest fountain; women still queued up to have their corn ground at the mills. The older people looked much the same, but the clothes of the younger people were more varied, colorful, and citified. More young women had short hair and permanent waves, and one young girl wore blue jeans. The young men wore modern trousers, shirts, and jackets, and more children had shoes, sweaters, and store-bought clothes. The small shops sold more canned goods and pack-

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

leading Mexican banker who wanted to build a home in the village negotiated for over a year before he succeeded in buying a modest-sized idle plot of land whose owner was living in Mexico City. By 1956, Tepoztecans had sold almost forty plots to as many outsiders for building homes in the village and in the lovely valley below. Tepoztecan middlemen are now speculating in land because of the steadily rising prices. A village site valued at about 50 centavos per square meter in 1943 sold in 1957 for as much as 12 pesos a meter (100 centavos to the peso).

Tepoztlán has become an international tourist colony. The non-Tepoztecan home owners now include native Mexicans, naturalized Mexican citizens of Spanish, French, German, Dutch, Japanese, and Italian ancestry, and a few Americans. Few of these people live in the village the year around but spend their holidays and vacations there. The construction of thirty-five new homes for the foreign colony has given employment to some Tepoztecan masons and day laborers. Some of the building materials—stone, sand, and tiles—also have been purchased locally. A number of the families have taken Tepoztecan girls as domestic servants both in the village and in their Mexico City or United States homes, and about a dozen Tepoztecans have jobs as caretakers. The colony also provides some additional income to local meat and milk dealers and other merchants. On the whole, the "foreigners" form few friendships in the village and except for the *Carnaval* participate very little in village affairs. It is said that most of the outsiders opposed the campaign to bring electricity to Tepoztlán for fear that it might spoil the primitive rustic quality of the village. It should be noted that among the non-Tepoztecans who have lived in the village are some of Mexico's leading intellectuals and artists and a few doctors. Some of these men have taken a great interest in the villagers and have helped them in their efforts to build a new high school, to obtain city water, and most recently (June 1958) to procure electricity.

Other forms of tourism have also grown rapidly and tourist facilities have improved. Most important has been the conversion of the banker's private home into one of the most charming resorts in Mexico, the *Posada del Tepozteco.* Since the late forties, Mexican and Hollywood movie producers have used Tepoztlán as the setting for a number of movies.

Since 1943, educational facilities have been expanded in the village. Two new schools built in the larger barrios gave the village a total of four elementary schools. Attendance rose from about 750 in 1950 to over 900 in 1956. In 1950, a high school was completed, and attendance rose from 54 in the first year to 110 in 1956. Boys still predominate over girls in both elementary and high schools. The surrounding villages have begun to reach out for higher education and now send their children to the central high school in Tepoztlán. Each year a number of Tepoztecan high-school graduates go on to the university in Mexico City.

In the past ten years bus travel to Cuernavaca has almost doubled and travel to Mexico City also has increased. On an average week day approximately 500 Tepoztecans take the bus to Cuernavaca to work, shop, study, sell produce, and to find recreation. Some of the peasants now think it worthwhile to take the bus to their *milpas,* a distance of two or three kilometers, rather

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

than spend the time and energy in walking. A count made on a Wednesday in July 1956 showed that 84 vehicles entered the village and 94 left it between 5 A.M. and 9 P.M. Thirty-six percent were buses which ran about two times an hour in both directions (to and from Cuernavaca), 41 percent were passenger cars, and 23 percent were trucks. The trucks carried various products—corn, pigs, plants, beer, gravel, groceries, soft drinks, and petroleum. A similar count made on a Sunday gave a total of 373 vehicles entering and leaving. The buses carried approximately 800 passengers during the day.

In 1943, the number of radios in the village was only three or four; by 1956 it had risen to eighty, battery operated, for electricity had not yet come to the village. The owners were mainly under forty; older people showed little interest in radios. Most of them had been bought in Cuernavaca since 1950 at prices ranging from 400 to 3,500 pesos. They were intended chiefly for family use but their presence has increased visiting and sociability among the younger people. The listeners are usually not program conscious. Whenever they want to listen to something, they turn the dials to whatever sounds good. *Ranchero* music is the most popular attraction, news a secondary item. Major obstacles to the further use of radios have been lack of money and the absence of electricity, which meant trouble and expense in keeping the batteries charged. About 15 percent of the sets were not working in July 1956 because the batteries had run down. Tepoztecans who had relatives or *compadres* among bus drivers could have their batteries installed in a bus for a day and so have them charged without cost.

In 1956, as part of a federal government project to improve communications, a telephone exchange was installed in a small grocery store in Tepoztlán. Six phones were listed for the village in the Cuernavaca directory, almost all of them for local businesses. Storekeepers can now make orders, politicians can arrange meetings, and in emergencies ambulances and doctors can be reached by phone. During the day, calls are sent and received through the central office; at night, when the central office is closed, calls go to the *Posada*. The grocer charges 50 centavos to call someone to the phone, provided they live near the center of the village. During my stay in the village in 1956 a few calls from Hollywood were received by the village government—arrangements for the filming of another movie in Tepoztlán were in process!

Tepoztlán now has a movie, operated by a villager who had been a *bracero*. The movies are shown on week-ends from October to May in one of the large rooms of the municipal building which seats about 300 people. The movie business is an insecure one in Tepoztlán, however; it cannot always successfully compete with the fiestas. Most of the films are Mexican cowboy and war pictures which appeal to young people. Adults over forty do not frequent the movies and most of the peasants do not permit their daughters to attend.

Despite the higher educational level, greater travel, and the increase in radios, our data suggest that there has been no increase in the number of people who read newspapers. On the contrary, there seems to have been some decline since 1943. In 1956, only about twenty-five individuals read a news-